

Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America 9

omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpuí'lux^a) of the people who lived in a single village (npui'lux^a) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (k'tí'tás). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group non-coincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted; and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahap-tin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

101
619101
571
619

10 Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America

101
571
619
names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.¹² This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.¹³

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

177
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As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

¹² Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 84.

¹³ Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13-19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.